

THE FALL OF THE COMMUNE.
 From the London Saturday Review.

At last the reign of the Commune is over, and one of the strangest forms of government the world has ever seen has disappeared amidst bloodshed, fire, and general ruin. For two months the Commune has been master of Paris, has wielded its resources, controlled its inhabitants, and made it defy the rest of France. A concurrence of circumstances without parallel placed this power in its hands. The Emperor chose to make war while utterly unprepared. His precipitation led to the disaster of Sedan, then Sedan led to the revolution of September, and the installation of a Republican Government led to the arming of all the dangerous classes of Paris. When peace came there was no French Government able to think and act for France. Jules Favre, a weak-minded and emotional Republican, could not think of disarming other Republicans, or of allowing the Germans to disarm them. Subsequently he asked pardon of God and man for not having accepted Prince Bismarck's suggestion that the terms of capitulation should include the disarming of the National Guard. His pardon may be easily granted, for it needs much less than omniscience to know that a gushing rhetorician raised to precarious power for a moment is not the man to appreciate the gravity of political dangers. It was too late the Government of which he was a member decided to deprive the National Guard of its artillery. The attempt was made in the true modern French fashion. Nothing was thought of, no preparations were made. The Government troops easily captured the artillery, but no one had recollected that artillery cannot move itself. So the troops had to sit where they were till horses should come. Meanwhile the people began to talk to the troops, and it suddenly struck those warriors that there was no reason why they should slay one man more than another. French society had been decomposed into those loose and conflicting elements which it is the one business of society to make into a whole. No one could see why one man, or one cause, or one set of theorists should be preferred to another. A few resolute men saw their opportunity and seized on the Government of Paris. What was called the Government instantly effaced itself. It made no appeal, it ran no danger. It merely walked off gently and prudently to Versailles, and left Paris to take care of itself. The day of the insurrection had been stained by the murder of two generals in cold blood, and a few days subsequently, either in a panic or at the instigation of those who wished to bring matters to a crisis, a body of armed men fired on an unarmed crowd in the Rue de la Paix. The effect was exactly the same as when the same manoeuvre had been practised by the Emperor at the time of the *coup d'etat*. The citizens were cowed, and the National Guard could no longer retreat from their position. The reign of the Commune was definitely installed, and it soon appeared that the ruling body, properly called the Commune, consisting of persons elected or supposed to have been elected by the different districts of Paris; and a smaller body who exercised the real control, and who were either composed of, or were guided by, the Internationale, a secret society instituted for establishing a brotherhood of Socialism and Republicanism in every country. It soon appeared, however, that the new Government did not govern so badly as had been expected; that it preserved some sort of public order, and was courteous to foreigners; and that it was really supported by a considerable amount of public opinion in Paris. The claims and wrongs of Paris were thus forced on the attention of Europe, and it was generally acknowledged that, if the real issue between Paris and Versailles had been whether Paris should be kept down by the army of a Government supported by the priests and peasants of rural France, it was Paris that had the best of the argument. It was notoriously true, moreover, that the republic was not only in danger, but was doomed so far as the Assembly of Versailles could do it, and the Parisians who thought a republic worth fighting for had at least a chance of knowing that if they did not fight for it, no one else would. It has been natural in England to talk of the government of the Commune as of the government of the mob, and the lesson is supposed to be set by the catastrophe of Paris not to deal gently with our own mobs in case of need. Certainly English mobs should be summarily put down with as much force as may be necessary. But there is very little similarity between the Commune and an English mob, excepting so far as that in each case it is the lowest classes of society threatening the higher. An English mob is a transient gathering of useless, obnoxious, wild, no definite purpose and no notion of fighting, whose principal if not only object is to see how much the Bobbies under the direction of a fearful Secretary of State can be got to stand. The police persuade them to go away, their leader is made a County Court Judge, and the matter is at an end. The reason why such mobs should be at once put down is that the persons composing them are perilously demoralized by having their respect for the law diminished, and that they subject large numbers of quiet, orderly persons to inconvenient and danger. We can think that such a description may be applied to the character and doings of the Commune during the last two months? The Commune had distinct aims, a distinct organization, and has fought with courage and resolution. It had a cause and a power of its own. It formed a body of enemies to those who differed from it. It had a creed in which it believed, which it was prepared to promulgate and to defend at every risk. It was forced into prominence by the extraordinary accident of having a fortified city and an unlimited supply of warlike stores delivered into its hands at a moment when there was no Government and no army to oppose it. The Red Revolutionists are a party in France just as the Imperialists and Legitimists are a party. One French party was inside Paris, and a combination of other parties was outside Paris. This is probably the explanation of the curious mixture of apathy and bitterness which France has exhibited during the struggle. It looked on with something bordering on equanimity to see which party would win, while the members of every party secretly chuckled over the glorious license of partisan vengeance in which they proposed to revel if their party happened to be successful. The balance was tolerably equal so long as civilian France was left to itself, but gradually the prisoners from Germany came up, and the army decided the contest. This shows a state of things even more dangerous to France than if France had really been for two months under the rule of a mob. Paris, until the incendiary began, suffered much less than it would have suffered from mob rule, but it suffered less because the mischief of distinct fanatical parties has eaten into the heart of

France, and each triumphant party strives to set up a mob, but as a Government. What is the exact creed of the Red Republicans, and what are the principles and opinions they so tenaciously defend, it might be hard to state positively. They are in some degree Socialists, although Socialism does not appear to influence them so powerfully as might be expected from the language of those who always call them Socialists because this is the strongest term of abuse at hand. They are filled with a deep hatred and envy of all persons who have the advantages which wealth, education, and station confer. They detest above all things strong centralized military power. This is the link that binds together in their ranks the adventurers driven from Poland, from Germany, and from Italy. They hate and despise the priests, whom they look on as the tools and slaves of these military powers, and they revolt from the religion which they regard these priests as teaching in the interest of despotisms. In their fanaticism they are capable of all the acts in which fanatics rejoice. They have burnt the noblest buildings of Paris, not only to gratify a momentary thirst for vengeance, but to show their horror of all the things on which their enemies—the kings, and priests, and soldiers, and courtiers—delight. The destruction of the Tuileries, of the Sainte Chapelle, and the Hotel de Ville stand on very much the same footing as the destruction of the abbey and cathedrals of Scotland by the followers of John Knox; and it only seems different to us at first because we are accustomed to the fierceness and vandalism of religious sects, but we are not familiar with the notion of an equal fervor of political hatred.

France is now transported with just indignation at the burning of Paris, and foreigners can find no words too strong to condemn the atrocities with which the Commune has closed its career. If men choose to fill their hearts with unreasoning hatreds, and in their blind fury to spare nothing by which their neighbors set store, it is not because they are fanatics that a word is to be whispered in their defense. The Commune has been stamped with the infamy of this odious incendiarism, just as the First Republic was stamped with the infamy of the September massacres and the murder of Marie-Antoinette. But if we look to the future politics of France, we are bound to confess that the punishment which will follow on this dreadful act will not be in all probability the ending of the present troubles of the country. If this punishment is inflicted in the spirit which freely finds expression at Versailles, if the thirst for blood of a beaten and demoralized military class is gratified, if reaction goes so far as to let Ultramontanism become rampant, the hatred of the beaten party will not only be intensified, but will communicate itself to thousands who are new more or less indifferent. But even if things go on as well as can be hoped for, if the Commune remains master of the situation, and undertakes the task assigned him in the spirit of a statesman, it is impossible not to see, in the reign of the Commune and in the burning of Paris, symptoms of a malady which affects France much too radically for any Government to cure quickly or easily. Perhaps it is some of the smaller signs of the times that are most worth noticing. The picture of the inhabitants of Paris filling up every available crevice on the outside of their houses to prevent women and children from throwing down petrol, the firemen called by the Government pumping petroleum into the houses they were pretending to save, the regiments of Amazons, and the disgusting insults bestowed by the women of Versailles on these Amazons when captured, leave an impression of a generation grown up, and a generation growing up, in an atmosphere of recklessness, fanaticism, treachery, and cruel cowardice which is perhaps more painful than this hearing that all that made Paris grand and beautiful is gone or injured. Nor are we sure that this burning of Paris will not have a sort of fascination in time for some of the French themselves. However much they have nominally approved of the revolution of terror, a large class of the literateurs of France have always shown a pride in the excesses of Jacobinism. They like to think that Frenchmen dare to do and dream of doing things which it would not enter into the hearts of other men to conceive. The burning of Paris is but the end of a sensation novel on the largest possible scale, and the countrymen of Eugene Sue and Dumas will relish the thought of a catastrophe so diabolically grand. A French journal published in the interests of imperialism a few days ago indulged in a series of sneers at the Commune, as a more pigny by the side of the Revolution of 1793. It did nothing strong, terrible, and worthy to be called revolutionary. It had not the *orgueil du mal*, as the journalist expressed it—it had no proper pride in being transcendently wicked. This reproach at least is now taken away. The Commune will be no longer sneered at as a pigmy. It has graven its terrible history on Paris far more effectually than if it had sent some hundred priests and aristocrats to the guillotine, and the Frenchmen who ask for signs of the *orgueil du mal* before they can worship and admire anything will admit that in this respect the detested Commune has shown itself worthy of its country.

SPECIAL NOTICES.
PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD COMPANY,
 TREASURER'S DEPARTMENT.
 PHILADELPHIA, May 2, 1871.
 The Board of Directors has this day declared a semi-annual dividend of FIVE PER CENT. on the capital stock of the Company, clear of National and State taxes, payable in cash, on and after May 30, 1871.
 Blank powers of attorney for collecting dividends can be had at the office of the company.
 The office will be open at 8 A. M., and close at 3 P. M., from May 30 to June 2, for the payment of dividends, and after that date from 9 A. M. to 3 P. M.
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NORTH AMERICA,
 Incorporated 1794.

CAPITAL \$500,000
ASSETS January 1 1871 \$3,050,536

Receipts of 70..... 9,065,154
 Interests from Investments, 1870..... 137,000
 \$9,202,154

Losses paid in 1870..... \$1,186,941

STATEMENT OF THE ASSETS.

First Mortgages on Philadelphia City Property..... \$34,950
 United States Government Bonds..... 225,250
 Pennsylvania State Loans..... 169,310
 Philadelphia City Loans..... 300,000
 New Jersey and other State Loans and City Bonds..... 295,810
 Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Co., other Railroad Mortgage Bonds and Loans..... 565,945
 Philadelphia Bank and other Stocks..... 69,456
 Cash in Bank..... 931,045
 Loans on Collateral Security..... 31,434
 Notes, receivable and Marine Insurance unsettled..... 435,400
 Accrued Interest and Premium in course of transmission..... 83,901
 Real Estate, Office of the Company..... 30,000
 \$3,050,536

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 Office, Nos. 435 and 437 CHESTNUT ST.
Assets Jan. 1, '71, \$3,087,452 '35

CAPITAL \$400,000-00
ACCUMULATED SURPLUS AND PREMIUMS \$3,687,452 '35
INCOME FOR 1871, \$974,981 '70
LOSSES PAID IN 1870, \$1,900,000
Losses Paid Since 1829 Nearly \$6,000,000.

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 Bonds and Mortgages..... \$1,545,957 '93
 Ground Rents..... 2,930 '83
 Real Estate..... 55,900 '90
 U. S. Gov. 5-20 Bonds..... 45,000 '90
 Cash on hand..... 31,449 '92
 \$1,705,319 '97

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 200,000 City of Philadelphia Six Per Cent Loan (exempt from Tax)..... 304,162 00
 164,000 State of New Jersey Six Per Cent Loan..... 168,930 00
 80,000 Pennsylvania Railroad First Mortgage Six Per Cent Bonds..... 90,700 00
 95,000 Pennsylvania Railroad Second Mortgage Six Per Cent Bonds..... 95,200 00
 95,000 Western Pennsylvania Railroad Mortgage Six Per Cent Bonds (Pennsylvania Railroad guaranteed)..... 100,000 00
 80,000 State of Tennessee Five Per Cent Loan..... 18,000 00
 7,000 State of Tennessee Six Per Cent Loan..... 4,300 00
 12,500 Pennsylvania Railroad Company (250 Shares Stock)..... 15,000 00
 5,000 North Pennsylvania Railroad Company (25 Shares Stock)..... 4,300 00
 10,000 Philadelphia and Southern Mail Steamship Company (80 Shares Stock)..... 4,000 00
 1,650 Loans on City Properties..... 251,600 00
 \$1,260,150 Par. Cert. \$1,264,447-34. Mkt Val. \$1,293,557 00
 Bills Receivable for Insurance..... 250,971 27
 Balances due..... 10,000 00
 Premiums on Marine Policies..... 89,375 40
 Accrued Interest and other debts..... 8,412 00
 Stock and Scrip, etc., of sundry corporations, \$7500, estimated value..... 149,911 73
 Cash..... \$1,290,727 97

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